1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

The open sea opposite each reef was controlled by the village owning the reef and only men from that village might go deep-sea fishing there. As the canoe channel on the western reef was controlled by Yato village, men from Loto and Ngake had to receive permission before taking their canoes across the break (*ava*) in the reef at this point. This was a frequent request, for the only other break close to the villages is on the northeastern side of Wale, rarely as sheltered and manageable as the western side. Permission was given as a matter of generosity. Trespassers in the fishing reserves of other villages were punished by fines in nuts levied by the guards (p. 37) of the village whose reef was violated.

Before the causeway (*kolo*) was built across the western arm of the lagoon on Wale, this lagoon indentation was considered a part of the reserve of Niua. After the causeway was constructed, Yato village still retained control of the "bay", and turned it into a fish pond. It is simply called *te loto*, the name for any enclosed water. This pond contains many *ava* fish (white mullet), which fatten on the algae growing on the lagoon bottom. The fish are tapu for most of the year, but at certain arranged times, generally at the end of each month, the pond is opened to fishing parties from Yato for one or more days. Fishing is sometimes an individual matter; at other times all the men of Yato fish together on the same day. The catch is divided among all the people of the village. Some of this fish finds its way through gift to other villages, but the sole right to fish in this pond is jealously guarded by Yato men.

LANDS AND BOUNDARIES

The land on the three islets is divided among the villages. Each village retains control of the lands specifically set aside as communal village lands. The rest of the land within the village boundaries is controlled by the paternal and maternal lineages. The village boundaries (*tuakoi*) on Wale are shown on the map (fig.1,*b*).[1]

The present boundary lines between the villages date from a period just after the great seismic wave of about 300 years ago. After this catastrophe, in the reign of the chief Maina or of his successors, Tuliayanga and Alatakupu, it was decided to realign the boundaries to take care of population growth. The technique used is called *tutuki*, a form of stick wrestling. A weapon (*kaio*) of *nuiao* wood, about 4 to 6 feet long, is held by two men facing each other, each trying to push his opponent backward. The boundary advances or retreats according to the position of the weapon. In the contest in question, all three villages participated, lined up along a provisional boundary running from lagoon to outer beach near the present church.

Loto faced Yato on the west and Ngake on the east. Before the contest commenced, the high chief (*ulihi uoto*) went to the sacred place of the goddess Tuna and requested

1. [See p15, category III— analyst]

:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Te malu, te malu, te malu	The weak (one, "softy"), the weak, the weak,
Te wewei, te wewei, te wewei,	The lazy man, the lazy, the lazy,
Tuku loa ki te vananga	Given (out his name) in the report (of the guard)
Puke atu enuenu pe te poi*	Overtaken (by laziness) squashy like pudding,
E koa yinga wua ia.	Flops down completely.

Fishing

General Features

Information on fish and Pukapukan fishing methods was obtained mainly from Veti and Eliu. It has been supplemented by general observation of some of the fishing techniques described. The material is not only interesting to the student of comparative Polynesian fishing methods, but it also gives an insight into the amount of control exercised by the Pukapukan fisherman over part of his environment. This control is much more complete than the following information suggests, because the actual amount of information collected represents a mere surface-scratching of the knowledge possessed by native fishermen. Two other limitations, imposed by lack of time and by comparative ignorance of the field worker in all that concerns fishing, conspired to prevent the collection of complete data on Pukapukan fishing. The classifications adopted in the following sections are those used by informants in presenting the material. Identifications of native fish names are given elsewhere (pp. 27-31).

The waters within and without the reef are used equally in fishing. The inner waters of the lagoon are combed over and over again each day by all the methods of lagoon fishing. Deep-sea fishing outside the reef is indulged in at least twice a week, depending on the amount of other work to do, the state of the sea, the winds and the weather, and the season of the year. Deep-sea fishing is relatively poor from November to March. In former days the amount of lagoon and outside reef fishing a man did depended also on the village to which he belonged. The division of reefs and lagoon among the three villages and the exclusive control exerted over these properties meant that the men of Ngake and Yato could fish more extensively than the men of Loto.

The habits and movements of all the fish were studied and correlated with the rising and setting of certain named stars (p. 350). All parts of the reef, inside and outside, as well as the lagoon deeps and shallows, are well known in terms of fish habits. Names for sections of the reef and for the parts of the ocean immediately outside the reef are given in figure 3.

*The changes are modern, hence the use of the Tahitian *pivai* for pig (first song) and *poi* for pudding (second song).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 The Pukapukan fisherman never does random fishing (*yi ika*). If asked where he is going, he replies, "Ka wano au yi kaloma, yi kakai, yele pala..." (I am going to fish *kaloma*, to fish *kakai*, to noose *pala*...); he is always going to fish specific fish. If the particular fish is caught in more than one place, he usually tells where he is going to fish. It is rare for a fisherman to return from an expedition with conglomerate varieties of fish. He usually brings home fish of a few related varieties that were all caught by the method he proposed when he first set out.

133
815

FIGURE 3.—Cross section of reef rim: 1, land, *motua*; 2, lagoon, *ala*; 3, inner side of reef shelf, *tauatama*; 4, reef shelf, *ahuahu akau*, the reef circuit being termed *ayunga*; 5, surface water, *bilitai*; 6, sub-surface water, *waiti*, 3 to 10 fathoms deep; 7, deep water, *puongangutu*; 8, lower, outer reef shelf, *papa o te akau*; 9, greatest depth of water, *yalo-ongangutu* (also called *motua*); 10, ocean floor, *papa o te moana*.

226 Men are customarily the fishermen, but women do beach angling, groping, shell fishing, and assist in torch fishing inside the lagoon. Turtle, *kakai*, 887 *ahula*, *atu*, and *pala* fish were formerly always taken to the meeting place (*malae*) of the old men's group (*tupale*) for division. These fish were 561 caught by the young men's (*tangaaga*) fishing group or by the fishing group of older men (pp. 67, 281). The old men divided these fish among the people of the island. If the *tangaaga* men caught 30 *kakai*, the old men kept 10 for themselves, gave the chief special cuts from the body of the fish, and divided the rest equally among the people.

226 Certain habits are characteristic of all fishermen. In reef angling, beach angling, and submerged reef fishing, the fishing basket is held between the legs. The mouth of the basket is invariably tied with coconut fibers to prevent loss of the fish, if by chance the basket upsets or falls into the water. In reef angling, where the fisherman moves about, he often ties the basket to his belt or suspends it from the shoulders. In beach angling, especially for *kaloma* fish, the fisherman sits on a coconut husk, a coconut midrib, or a stone. When he is fishing for *kaloma* and the fish are biting fast, he throws the catch down on the sand beside him. It is important not to waste time under these conditions, because the fish are soon satiated with the chum (*katikati*) thrown to them. But when fishing for *kaloma* to be

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 channels (*ava*) leading to the open sea. Suitable channels on the reef shelf through which the water from the lagoon flows back to the ocean with the ebbing tide are blocked (*yaeke*) and the fish caught. Fish caught by this method are the common reef and beach fish mentioned for weir trapping.

[133] 2. The seine net (*kupenga*) is used for beach and reef fish. Because the irregular coral bottom of the lagoon would soon rip the meshes of the net if dragged over the bottom, it is set, not hauled, for reef fish. Nets used for the small beach fish (*kaloma*) are dragged over the sandy bottoms close to the beach. Nets for reef fish are set on the seaward side of the reef shelf. Some men walk inward with the wings of the net while others on the lagoon side of the reef shelf walk seaward, beating the water with coconut-leaf butts to drive the fish toward the net. The wings are closed around the fish, which are clubbed to death in water about 4 feet deep. To use the seine net, whether by setting or hauling, is *yali kupenga*. The one net on the island at present is owned by the men of Ngake who sometimes use it on the reef off Ngake, at other times on the reef off Yato. When it is set off Yato, Yato men are always present; and the fish caught are fairly divided among the men of the two villages. Fish caught by this method include all the reef fish caught by spearing and by fish weirs.

227 3. The arched net with line (*tata tinitini*) is used for reef fish. It is constructed on the principle of the Samoan arched net with line (27, pp. 477-478), but with different materials. As I did not see one in use, the description is based on informant's account. A special net is not made; the net from the *tae malolo* is unlashed and used. It is laid flat on the ground. A sennit cord passes from each of the four corners of the net to make a sort of bridle which takes the place of the thin rods used in the Samoan net. To the apex of this bridle is fastened a hand line of sennit. The surface of the net is 221 laced with *Tridacna* meat, and *Tridacna* shells are placed on the net mesh to act as sinkers. The net is let down from a canoe and laid on the bottom (*uelouelo*) in about 2 or 3 fathoms of water. The fisherman then dives to the bottom to spread out the net. When coral or reef fish swarm into the net to get the bait, it is quickly pulled up. The natural sag in the *tae malolo* net is increased as it is drawn rapidly to the surface, making it a fairly deep bag net.

4. The scoop net (*tae malolo*) is used from a canoe on the outside of the reef to catch all kinds of fish. The classic example of this type of fishing is flying-fish netting. The best time to catch flying fish is after a big squall (*tiwa ewgo*) which has the effect of bringing together the fish. Flying fish are sometimes caught by individual fishermen in single canoes, more often by a fleet of canoes (*tewa waka*) which goes out by arrangement to fish competitively. For the purposes of this fishing, members of the crew are 226 named according to the functions they perform. In a six-seater canoe (*yaka ono*) the crew members, starting from the steersman and moving toward the bow are: the cap- 502 tain, who is steersman and principal netter (*tae mauli*); the *uelimauli* ("mate"), who has charge of the canoe when the *tae mauli* is netting but paddles at other times and is also referred to as *te ola no te tae mai*, because he gathers together the fish as the netter throws them into the canoe; the *tae mai*, who paddles and also nets when the canoe is on a big shoal of fish; the *o lama* or *te tuto yua*, who paddles, bails, and gathers in the fish thrown by the second netter and is also responsible for the torches (in a six-seater canoe there is one torcher; in an eight-seater, two torchers); the *ola no te ulu* or *te tainui*, who paddles and gathers the fish together and who with the second man (*uefiuafi*) is responsible for keeping the canoe straight to the reef and moving it as required when the other members of the canoe are netting or bailing; the *tae wasa* or *tae ulu*, who paddles, acts as a netter, and is responsible for warping the canoe (*lolo te vaka*) so it is swung head-on to the reef, so that the canoe is kept dead head-on to the reef and swings neither right nor left from this position. In smaller canoes with a crew of only three men, the netter is in the bow, the torcher in the center, and the steersman in the stern. Previously only men fished flying fish, but today women and girls occasionally go out with the fleet to act as paddlers and torchers.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Stone Seats

Formerly a man might make on the outer beach a stone seat (*tokewelangi*) on which to rest in the cool of the evening, eat the evening meal, and sleep. Informants stated that the two Pukapukan voyagers, Tonu and Taea, saw stone seats on the island of Wakalava and introduced the idea on their return to Pukapuka.

There was apparently much latitude in the way these stone seats were built. Some were built with a stone seat, stone back rest, and a slab at either side for an arm rest; others were made by hollowing out a shallow depression in the sand and facing the bottom and sides of the depression with coral slabs. The sides were inclined at an angle of about 10 to 15 degrees to the bottom; the bottom was at least 6 feet long, and 3 feet wide, wider if a man planned to take wife or sweetheart to sit with him. Other seats were made according to fancy. Each seat was named after its owner and served as a symbol of his prestige. No seats are used today, most of the stones having been used for oven stones: missionary teaching does not countenance the use of stone seats on lonely outer beaches. Macgregor's statement (20, p. 25) that the idea of these seats was brought to Pukapuka by the people of Yayake and that they were used by priests as religious structures for the offering of turtle and fish to the gods received no support from informants who were strongly of the opinion that the seats were places of rest and recreation only.

The stone seat on the southeastern outer beach of Motu Ko, which tradition states was used by the bird man Wate-ououva-ouí, is now in ruins. The remains of other seats lie close by. The outer beach has been elevated at this place by the piling up of coral gravel through wave action and the ruins of the seats are situated well under the lee of the raised beach. To have been useful as cool resting sites, the seats must have been built before this beach was elevated. The ruins consist of fragments of stone 1 to 2 feet square. The original stone seat, suggested informants, has been gone for many generations, washed away by high seas. A later generation built on the same site, but these seats were mostly destroyed by the seas; those that remained were pulled down under missionary influence.

Walls

Stone walls marking the boundaries of the reserves (p. 35) have now almost disappeared, but remnants of the wall round Uta are to be seen at the place Matala. The wall consists of large slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge. The old gate (*fau*) through this wall still remains. It consists of a gap about 2 feet wide marked on either side by a stone reputed to have been carried there by the warrior Kupolu. One stone is 7 feet wide, 8 inches thick, and 4 feet 8 inches above ground; the other is 7 feet 8 inches wide, 22 inches thick and 4 feet 4 inches above ground. Each stone is set about 3 feet in the ground. The size of the stones, if typical of all the stones forming the wall, indicates the great labor of building the wall.

House Foundations

The use of small coral slabs set on edge to form the boundary of the house platform and the use of coral pebbles to form the house floor is described on page 116.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Village	Paternal Lineage	Chiefs
Ngake	Muliwutu	Two mataiapo, one langatila
	Matanga	Two mataiapo
Loto	i Tua	One aliki wolo, one langatila
	Yangalipule	One mataiapo
Yato	Yalongo	Two mataiapo
	Yamaunga	Two langatila

Informants are confused today over the former status of the high chief and the other chiefs. The following description seems to have applied both to the high chief and to the chiefs of the other lineages; it excludes the sub-chiefs (*langatila*) who seem to have been more executive officers of the major chiefs than chiefs with status in their own right. Some informants believed that the chiefs were regarded as the fathers of the people and were approached by anyone at any time without ceremony or violation of tapu; that they were tapu only when they visited the sacred structures (*awanga*) of their lineage gods to seek some favor from the gods.

Majority opinion holds, however, that the chief was sacred from the time he was inducted into office on the sacred structure of his lineage. During youth and boyhood, he, like his siblings, was without tapu and mixed freely with the other young people of the island. The personal conduct of the chief was above criticism. Should anyone dare to reproach him, he cursed the impertinent one with the power of his lineage gods and caused him to fall sick.

The house of the chief was divided into two parts. There was no formal dividing wall or screen, but the division was well understood by the chief's family. On one side slept the chief and his wife; on the other side, his children and other household members. His house was not more pretentious than other houses of the village, but was of the ordinary *wakoyonoa* house type with coconut leaf wall screens. The chief entered from any side, but the family might enter only from their own end of the house. The chief ate with the rest of the household. His clothes were made by the women of the household. His old malos and sleeping mats were thrown into the sea, because they had become tapu through contact with his body. There were special death observances for the chief (p. 301).

In front of the chief's house was a reserved open place where he rested. Only the name of the resting place of the supreme chief is remembered. It was called Te Ulu-takapau and was situated in front of the present supreme chief's residence in Loto, covering part of the present road and adjacent land. The chief had a reserved bathing beach; that of the supreme chief was in front of Te Ulu-takapau, and was called Te Ava-o-te-waka-tahelenga-aliki (Channel-for-the-chief's-bathing). At this beach, which includes the only piece of deep water on the lagoon frontage of Loto village,

539 the day diving and swimming in the reef channel.

Arriving one day at Nassau, The Tini found the reef channel blocked with a heavy rock placed there by the gods. The men tried to move this rock because it made the passage over the reef one of considerable danger. They were unable to budge it so they suggested that Kuialaloa, a Ngake man, son of Tautuna, should try his strength. Kuialaloa dived, struck the rock with his foot. The stone slid to the side of the channel. On a later day The Tini returned to Nassau to find the stone back in the channel and again Kuialaloa moved it wit.. ease.(17)

During the excitement of the water sports played on this occasion, The Tini noticed that one of their company, a man named Te Ie, was missing. The men dived and searched under water until they found the body. They brought it to land and prepared a large double canoe with a huge sail in which they wished to transport the body of Te Ie back to Pukapuka for burial. The sail was fastened to the mast and the men tried to lift the mast upright so that it could be placed in the canoe and lashed to the cross booms. The mast and sail together were so heavy that the united strength of all the men could not budge it. Just then Te Kalele, a champion of the group and one who had been visiting inland, came back to the beach. He took hold of the mast with one hand and easily inserted it into the hull of the canoe. The group sailed back to Pukapuka. They decided not to go again to Nassau but instead to start a place of copulation on Wale. Of this company was the woman Wanguna whose magical powers and nymphomaniac tendencies were directly responsible for the island-wide disregard of the tapus that resulted in a catastrophic tidal wave.

[133] 17. This rock, moved twice by Kuialaloa, still partially blocks the reef channel on Nassau Island to this day. Shooting the reef at this point, the only channel on the leeward side of the island, is hazardous even with a moderate sea.

Chant for a Fishing Competition (1)

539 I taku vaitili maka ki tua: My chant is thrown to the back of the island:

Yinuyinumaki i na kotinga o te wenua, Well guarded are the boundaries of Ngake's lands,
No Ngake ia Tuapuka, To Ngake belongs Tuapuka reef, back of the island,
No Ngake ia Te Akau-loa, To Ngake belongs Te Akau-loa reef,
No Ngake te va o Te Itu, To Ngake belongs the space of the reef Te Itu,
No Ngake mo na uluulu akau peia? Does not Ngake therefore own all the outer reefs?
E momoe ai ona tupele, ona mulivaka, ona lopa, Here sleep helpful spirits of old men, mature men, young men in their prime, (2)
Tau, tautau na malo e e, ki te lui ma te wanga, Hung are the fishermen's malos with lui and wanga fish, (3)
Tau, tautau na malo e e, ki te patuki yiva Hung are the malos with patuki yiva fish
Li, li na ulu ki te unaliki, Wrapped are their heads in wreaths of unaliki fish,
Ta na malo ki te taiva, Their malos are made with taiva fish,
Pepelu ki te yiku o te ta They are girded with the tails of ta fish
O matou kili ni tui lawi, Our skins are strings of lawi fish,
O matou kili ni tui lenga, Strings of lenga fish cover our skin,
O matou kili ni tui wuakau mai tua a! Covered with wuakau fish from the back of the island!

1. This chant called a vaitili is sung by the winners in a competition for the catching of the reef fish patuki.
[133] [103] Tuapuka is part of the encircling reef at the back of the island. Te akau loa is the long reef running from Yato to Motu Kotawa. Te Itu is the reef between Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole page 18, category 116--analyst].

[775] 2. The spirits of dead men are thought of as constituting an army of helpers who gather the fish of the sea and bring them to the hooks of Ngake contestants.

3. As the fishermen bring their catch back to the village, they string the fish about their waists and around their heads.